This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

LANE MEDICAL LIBRARY STANFORD STOR
L367 H72 1914
The truth about alcohol : speech ... in
24503307969

IE TRUTH ABOUT ALCOHOL

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHMOND P. HOBSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DECEMBER 22, 1914

L367
H72
1914

WASHINGTON
1914

74512—14339

LANE

MEDICAL LIBRARY

LEVI COOPER LANE FUND

67
2
19

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHMOND P. HOBSON.

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker [applause], I desire to allot to myself at this time 10 minutes, and request that I be notified at the expiration of that time. The proposition is to take away, through the exercise of the organic law, the power of both the Federal Government and of the States to propagate the liquor traffic. The limitation is precisely the same for both, so there can be no change in the balance of power as between the two. A State has the right to be dry if it so desires, because in being dry it does not harm or menace any neighboring State; but no State has a real inherent right to be wet, because being wet, under the claims of the Liquor Trust itself, no neighboring State can be protected in its right to be dry. The liquor traffic is an interstate nuisance against which the States have no recourse, and Congress itself can not delegate to the States the right to protect themselves in interstate commerce. Consequently we are dealing with a proposition of protecting the absolute inherent rights of the States without changing the balance of power between the States and the Federal Government.

The method of changing the organic law is through the States. There is a clause in the Constitution that provides that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate, not even by a change in the Constitution. I was astonished when I heard even a ripple of applause and commendation when one Member was reckless enough to announce that he would have the Constitution of the United States changed by a referendum majority vote of the people. Why, he could have that done only after a war of revolution. The foundation of our Government is a Union of the States, and the States themselves can not change the Constitution in that respect. The revolutionary suggestion of a popular vote to amend the Constitution has never been made before in the history of this Government until invoked to-day to protect the liquor traffic.

This question in the last analysis is really a matter of fact and not of opinion.

When the fact is established that opium and cocaine and other drugs are poisonous, no question has ever been raised as to the power and the right of the Federal Government and the States to cooperate in the suppression of the popular distribution of such drugs. There never has been any serious conflict of authority in the enforcement of a just law to protect the public health and the public morals. Is alcohol such a habit-forming drug? I call the attention of Members to these posters giving samples of the findings of the great scientists of the world. Alcohol is a hydrocarbon derivative, a chemical compound whose general properties can be and have been established correctly and finally as the properties of other similar

74512—14339

97 3347

compounds. These are its properties: Being the excretion, the loathsome excretions of living organisms, the ferment of germs, alcohol belongs to the family of the toxins. Ferment germs being the lowest forms of life, their toxin, alcohol, is and must always be a poison to all life, a protoplasmic poison. The second finding is that alcohol is a habit-forming drug. The third finding is the most startling. Alcohol is not satisfied with attacking equally all tissues that build up life. It has an affinity, a deadly attack, for the top part of the brain, the line of human evolution. It attacks the line of evolution in plants and animals as well. In this top part of the brain of humanity resides the will power.

Every time a man drinks he takes that much away from his manhood; will power declines. An anaesthetic, like chloroform and ether, that hides the pain and poisoning effect, alcohol fools you and leaves the craving behind, increasing steadily with the drinking. Then, with the will power declining, the habit in time becomes fixed. The use of this habit-forming drug is so widespread and its grip so powerful that to-day there are 5,000,000 American citizens, heavy drinkers and drunkards, who have shackles on their wrists, a ball and chain upon their ankles. A few thousand brewers and distillers to-day own 5,000,000 slaves.

Nature is not going to tolerate this tearing down where she is trying to build. Any living thing that so violates the evolutionary law of nature must pay the penalty—nature will proceed to exterminate.

I will refer you to these placards: Starting at 20, a young man as a total abstainer will live to be 65; as a moderate drinker he will die at 51. Do not extol temperate drinking, when it will cut 14½ years out of the life of the average man, though he never gets drunk in his life. The heavy drinker at 20 dies at 35; 30 years are cut out of his short life.

Alcohol is not satisfied with shortening life and bringing to an untimely end and premature death hundreds of thousands of our citizens every year; it blights the offspring; it attacks the tender tissues associated with reproduction in both male and female; it affects the tender system of embryo in the prenatal period. For both parents to be simply moderate drinkers, to drink but once a day beer or wine, will quadruple the chance of miscarriage for the mother, increasing 400 per cent the suffering and danger of maternity, will increase nearly 100 per cent the number of children that will die in the first year of infancy. The children of drinking parents die off at the rate of from four to five times as many as those of abstaining parents. Do not talk about prohibition invading the rights of individuals—liquor blights the rights of our citizens before they are born; it denies the rights of the children to be born with parental love; it throws the boys on the streets and into the mines and factories, preventing them from getting the education they are entitled to. It attacks our young during the whole period of minority. It tramples upon the rights of communities, the rights of counties and States. All of this for what purpose? So that this monster may continue to fatten upon the weaknesses and woes of humanity. The liquor interests can not teach old men to drink, so they must teach the boys.

Sixty-eight per cent of our drunkards had contracted their habits before they were 21 years old, 30 per cent before 16, 7

74512—14339

LAKE LIBRARY

per cent before 12. What is the inevitable result of this terrible shortening of life and blighting of the offspring? It means that no family, no State, no nation, no empire, no civilization can permanently flourish and prosper and survive unles it is sober.

Who is the agent that teaches the boys to drink? Drinking men do not teach boys to drink. I have never yet found a drinking man who made a habit of teaching boys to drink. Who teaches them? These thousands and tens of thousands of agents of the Liquor Trust who are all over the land. You need not think the bootlegger is simply sustained by his peddling; he is sustained by the great National Liquor Trust. They must get those boys, and they go after them systematically. Why do they do it? What is the motive? Not to harm the boys. I am not fanatical on this question. They do it to get the profits from the sale of their goods. We propose to remove the motive; we propose to cut out the sale and everything that pertains to sale.

* * * * * * *

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CONNELLY] and reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would like to inquire of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] if he wants to yield at this time all the rest of his hour except 15 minutes reserved to close?

Mr. HOBSON. That is my purpose, Mr. Speaker, and I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kansas.

* * * * * * *

PROHIBITION.

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORGAN].

[Mr. MORGAN of Oklahoma addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter.]

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] is recognized for five minutes.

[Mr. DECKER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter.]

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TRIBBLE].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TRIBBLE] is recognized.

* * * * * * *

Mr. HOBSON. I now yield three minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS], and with that I will reserve the remainder of my time. If my figures are correct, I shall have used 44 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS] is recognized for 3 minutes, and the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] reserves 16 minutes.

* * * * * * *

74512—14339

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I listened with great interest to the entertaining speech of my friend from Indiana [Mr. MORRISON]. I have never taken a personal view of this question at all. The thing that surprised me and puzzled me somewhat in his detailed elaboration of his own antecedents was that, having received direct instructions in 1908 on the matter involved in his amendment, he has never yet seen fit to introduce it until the last few days. Now, I may not be a great lawyer, but I certainly have this much knowledge of our organic law, that the first requisite for an intelligent and timely submission, or laying before Congress for submission, of an amendment to our Constitution, is to know that there is a call, a demand from the people in the several States; and my friend [Mr. MORRISON] seems to have forgotten, in his detailed description, to enumerate what petitions he has received in the interest of his substitute. He referred to no resolutions having been passed by any temperance, prohibition, church, or other organizations in the land. Now, I confess to having been a naval constructor in my day, and to having the ability in my profession at least to help build a battleship. That was my profession. But what puzzles me is how my able friend [Mr. MORRISON], so full of humor, should have imagined that this body or the American people would try to attain an object through the passage by both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds majority, and a ratification by three-quarters of all the States, that which could be attained by a simple majority vote of the Congress.

I may not be versed in the intricacies of the law, but my scientific training has enabled me to see how clear this great and difficult and complex question really is.

What is the object of this resolution? It is to destroy the agency that debauches the youth of the land and thereby perpetuates its hold upon the Nation. How does the resolution propose to destroy this agent? In the simplest manner. It does not attempt to abuse him. It simply says that he shall not make profits in barter and sale out of a business in which he can not get customers by teaching old and grown-up men to drink, but has to debauch the youth of the land. It does not coerce any drinker. It simply says that barter and sale, matters that have been a public function from the semicivilized days of society, shall not continue the debauching of the youth. Now, the liquor trust are wise enough to know that they can not perpetuate their sway by depending on debauching grown people, so they go to an organic method of teaching the young to drink. Now we apply exactly the same method to destroy them. We do not try to force old drinkers to stop drinking, but we do effectively put an end to the systematic, organized debauching of our youth through thousands and tens of thousands of agencies throughout the land. Men here may try to escape the simplicity of this problem. They can not. Some are trying to defend alcohol by saying that its abuse only is bad and that its temperate use is all right. Science absolutely denies it, and proclaims that drunkenness does not produce one-tenth part of the harm to society that the widespread, temperate, moderate drinking does. Some say it is adulteration that harms. Some are trying to say that it is only distilled liquors that do harm. Science comes in now and says that all alcohol does harm; that the malt and fermented liquors produce vastly more harm

than distilled liquors, and that it is the general public use of such drinks that has entailed the gradual decline and degeneracy of the nations of the past.

They have no foundation in scientific truth to stand upon, and so they resort to all kinds of devious methods.

Their favorite contention is that we can not reach the evil because of our institutions. This assumes that here is something very harmful and injurious to the public health and morals, that imperils our very institutions themselves and the perpetuity of the Nation, but the Nation has not within itself, because of its peculiar organization, the power to bring about the public good and end a great public wrong. They invoke the principle of State rights. As a matter of fact, we are fighting more consistently for State rights than they ever dreamed of. We know the States have the right to settle this question, and furthermore our confidence in three-quarters of all the States to act wisely does not lead us to fear that if we submit the proposition to them they might establish an imperialistic empire. We believe that three-quarters of all the States have the wisdom as well as the right to settle the national prohibition question for this country.

They talk of the size of the unit for prohibition. We know perfectly well that the size of the unit is not involved in the principle. If we were contending to-day for a State-wide unit the opposition would say that the county unit is the proper unit. If we were contending for the county unit, as in Indiana, they would at once say the township is the proper unit.

They can not find refuge behind the superficial proposition of not being able to collect revenue and taxes. We collect $230,000,000 revenue, but what does that revenue mean? It is the people's money. What does the collection of that money entail upon the people? Crime, pauperism, and insanity, which the Liquor Trust ought to be compelled to support but does not. The liquor interests, involving a burden of direct taxation of nearly $2,000,000,000, collect over two billions of actual cash from our people. They lower terrifically the average standard of productiveness, entailing $8,000,000,000 loss annually, and cause the premature death of hundreds of thousands of our people that ought to live on as producers, entailing other billions of loss. Why, gentlemen, it mounts up in the region of sixteen billion dollars a year, the loss entailed in the collection of a revenue of $230,000,000.

Gladstone said to the brewers that claimed special consideration at the hands of the Government because of the revenue which they paid:

> Do not speak to me about the revenues from strong drink. Give me a people who do not squander their substance in strong drink and I will find an easy and ready means of raising the necessary revenue for carrying on the Government.

It was the same philosophy in the maturity of his years which led him to declare that strong drink is more destructive than the historic scourges of war, pestilence, and famine combined.

Neither can they take refuge about any assumed question of individual liberty. We do not say that a man shall not drink. We ask for no sumptuary action. We do not say that a man shall not have or make liquor in his own home for his own use. Nothing of that sort is involved in this resolution. We only touch the sale. A man may feel he has a right to drink, but he cer-

tainly has no inherent right to sell liquor. A man's liberties are absolutely secure in this resolution. The liberties and sanctity of the home are protected. The liberties of the community are secure, the liberties of the county are secure, and the liberties of the State are secure.

Let no one imagine that a State to-day has the real power and right to be wet of its own volition. Under the taxing power of the Federal Government by act of Congress Congress could make every State in the country dry. They need not think it is an inherent right for a State to be wet; it is not; but there is an inherent right in every State and every county and every township to be dry, and these rights are now trampled upon, and this monster prides himself in trampling upon them.

Why, here to-day Member after Member has proclaimed that prohibition does not prohibit, and I have heard them actually tell us that prohibition could not prohibit. They tell us that this interstate liquor power is greater than the National Government. It is analogous to the days of piracy. The pirates were strong, so they adopted the flag of a skull and crossbones. They would board a ship, put the crew to the sword, and then, in defiance of all organized society, would hoist the black flag above the flag of the ship and set it adrift on the high seas, priding themselves that they were greater than and defied all organized society.

Here is this monster intruding itself upon the floor of this House, speaking through the mouths, whether consciously or unconsciously, of men standing high in power and influence, and telling us that they will hoist the black flag with the skull and crossbones above the Stars and Stripes themselves.

My friend from Indiana [Mr. MORRISON] must be blind in one eye. He saw the influence of the temperance forces in this struggle, but he failed to see the powerful hand of the great organized liquor forces.

Mr. Speaker, one of my colleagues from Alabama had to flaunt in my face here that I had been defeated by my opponent in the recent Democratic primary. I will say to my colleague and to all Members assembled here that my powerful and influential opponent did not fight alone in Alabama. Whether he knows it or not, the National Liquor Trust of America opened up three different headquarters and conducted the major part of that great campaign against me, with over 100 stenographers there and 800 men on their salaried pay rolls.

An army of workers, 500 workers called out at $5 a day, $2,500 a day in one county alone. Wall Street—and I am not guessing—raised a fund which was sent there "to help defeat HOBSON." Wall Street brought their great financial power to bear upon our corporations until they were fighting me practically to a unit; their hand was felt in the great mines and in the great mills. The party organization fought me instead of being neutral; the governor and his administration fought me; the President and his administration fought me. I fought single-handed and alone against the mighty political forces of the Nation. After my defeat, an echo of which we have here to-day, they held me up as a warning to all men in public life—HOBSON buried beneath a political avalanche, HOBSON politically dead!

Mr. Speaker, I entered the Navy at the age of 14 and served in the Navy for 18 years. I never knew anything but to serve my country. When I left the Navy it was my hope that I might be

in public life and serve my country all my days. My colleagues, I may be politically dead, but I say to you that I am not afraid of political death. I would rather have held my head up and fought these mighty forces for eight months, day and night, like a man, though it had cost me political death a hundred times. [Applause.] I appreciate what an honor it is to be a United States Senator, but I would rather hold my head up and do a man's part in my day and generation now, when it is dangerous; I would rather have it go down to my children that I tried to be a man in the midst of political danger; I would rather do a man's part to help cut this millstone of degeneracy from the neck of suffering humanity—I would rather do that, you think, than to be a United States Senator from Alabama? If I know my own mind I would rather do it ten times over than be President of these United States. [Applause.]

And I say now, as I said before, I will meet this foe on a hundred battlefields. If the Sixty-third Congress does not grant this plain right of the people for this referendum to change their organic law, to meet this mighty evil, the Sixty-fourth Congress will be likewise invoked. I do not say that we are going to get a two-thirds majority here to-night, I do not say that we will get a two-thirds majority in the Sixty-fourth Congress, because we have not yet had a chance to appeal to Caesar; but I do say that the day is coming when we shall have that referendum sent to the States, nor is that day as far distant as some may imagine. Unless this question has been made a State matter, as we are asking now for it to be so made by being removed from national politics, and referred to the States—if this is not done by the intervening Congresses, I here announce to you the determination of the great moral, the great spiritual, the great temperance and prohibition forces of this whole Nation to make this question the paramount issue in 1916, not only to gain a two-thirds majority in the Houses of Congress, but to have an administration that neither in the open nor under cover will fight this reform, so that in the spring of 1917 with an extraordinary session of the Sixty-fifth Congress we will have a command from the masters of men and of Congresses to grant this right to the people. My appeal is to each one of you now, be a man when the vote is taken and do your duty. [Applause.]

My time has been so short and divided into separate parts that in order to have continuity I will under leave to print insert the following, even at the risk of some repetition:

THE TRUTH ABOUT ALCOHOL.

"And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."—St. John, viii, 32.

Mr. Speaker, when we reach the consideration of the pending resolution under the five-minute rule the friends of the measure propose to offer amendments that would substitute House joint resolution 277 for House joint resolution 168. The wording of the former resolution is preferred because it removes all objections founded upon the fear that the rights of the States might be curtailed.

GREATEST PROBLEM SINCE SLAVERY.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution places squarely before Congress the greatest question and the most difficult problem that has confronted Congress and the American people since slavery. There is a close analogy between the two, both dealing with

great human wrongs. There is some general analogy between the way in which the two problems were met. After many compromises and efforts at regulation the solution of the slavery question was found in complete abolition. We have completed the analogous efforts at regulation, and this resolution brings us squarely up to the final proposition of the abolition of the liquor traffic. Slavery was deeply rooted in the social structure of the world and gripped with vested hold the business, politics, and Governments of the nations. The liquor traffic is more deeply and wider rooted with a stronger vested grip. The abolition of slavery entailed a great struggle in arms. The abolition of the liquor traffic has now risen with a mighty pending struggle at the ballot, to be settled in 1916.

GREATEST QUESTION OF HISTORY.

This question, Mr. Speaker, antedates human slavery. This question has baffled every civilization that has passed through the panorama of history. It is the greatest question in the life history of the human species, actually determining more than all other questions combined the perpetuity of any civilization.

AGITATING THE NATIONS OF EUROPE.

The civilization of western Europe, the civilization of central Europe, and the civilization of eastern Europe and of Asia are now involved in a great world war, and the respective Governments involved have come to recognize that to survive their nations and their armies must be sober, so that to-day this question is foremost in the councils of all nations of the world. The fact at the foundation of this world interest is the recent discovery made by science that a man, a family, a State, a nation, an empire, a civilization, or a race to survive must be sober.

"The fight against alcohol is the most important phenomenon of our epoch—weightier than all State affairs, wars, and concluded peaces."—Prof. Fick, of Wurzburg.

AMERICA MUST BE SOBER.

The object of this resolution, Mr. Speaker, is to establish those conditions that will make our Nation ultimately a sober nation—able to compete in the world's struggle for commercial and industrial supremacy; able to maintain and preserve the liberties that have come down from our forefathers; able to protect and defend our territory, our institutions, and to defend the cause of justice, liberty, and peace in all the world.

ORGANIC TREATMENT FOR AN ORGANIC DISEASE.

The method proposed in the resolution, Mr. Speaker, is a recourse to our organic law, applying organic treatment to this deep organic disease. In the wisdom of our fathers, vindicated by the experience of history, the organic law of our Nation is lodged in the hands of the several States. The first and most fundamental of all the rights of the States is the right to change the organic law. The part played by Congress is simply that of giving to the States a referendum.

QUESTION OF REFERENDUM.

Mr. Speaker, we are not asking Congress to make a country dry. Let no Member be deceived in this matter. We are simply asking Congress to refer the question for its decision to the States, where the legislators can either decide themselves or take recourse to a referendum to the people. The Member who votes against the rule or the resolution votes to deny the States and the people their right of referendum.

74512—14339

We made no complaint against the Judiciary Committee when it reported House joint resolution 168 without recommendation, for the main question before them was to refer the question to the House. This committee acted in the spirit of our institutions, and we now call on Members of Congress, whether wet or dry, to do likewise.

THE PEOPLE DEMAND THIS REFERENDUM.

Mr. Speaker, in the spirit of an institution the first and paramount consideration in such a case is whether there is a public demand, whether the people want to settle the question for themselves, as indicated by requests or petitions from a respectable number of citizens.

I ask Members to examine that scroll stretching across this Chamber, more than 150 feet long. That is only a partial record of the lists of public meetings where resolutions were adopted, giving the number of voters. If the petitions themselves were assembled end to end, they would stretch for miles. More than 6,000,000 American citizens have petitioned Congress, ten times more petitioners than have ever signed any petition in the history of the world. More than 12,000 organizations have adopted formal resolutions calling on Congress to grant this referendum.

To-day 14 sovereign States are State-wide dry, and 5 more are expected to become State-wide dry in 1918. To-day over 1,800 counties are dry by law. This number should really be increased to get the number of dry counties, for 68 out of 78 counties in Ohio went dry in the recent elections, and scores of counties in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and States without county option are dry.

To-day 56 per cent of all the people of the United States live under prohibition law enacted by their own majority votes.

I call attention of members to this black and white map. It shows that 76 per cent of all the area of continental United States is now dry territory. No one need talk about a minority of the people trying to dictate to a majority. Mr. Speaker, a majority of the people of the United States are dry to-day. This majority on the whole represents, though not exclusively, the conscience, the religion, the moral-uplift forces of the whole Nation. A small percentage of the votes can secure a referendum in the referendum States. Three States of the Confederacy could secure the submission of a constitutional amendment. How can any Member from a referendum State or any American refuse this mighty appeal?

Mr. Speaker, upon the demand of the public the Congress, in compliance with the spirit of our institutions, has submitted many proposed amendments to the States, but never yet has there been such a public demand; never yet has there been such a fraction of a demand.

The first and paramount consideration, whether the people want to pass on this question, leaves no ground for doubt. Mr. Speaker, the American people have a right to this referendum, and they demand from Congress the opportunity to exercise this right.

NOT A TEMPORARY WAVE.

Let no Member imagine that this great demand is a temporary wave of popular emotion likely to subside. On the contrary, it is the manifestation of the gathering power of a

mighty conviction rooted in education. The truth about alcohol is rapidly bringing men and nations out from under the

ALCOHOLIC ANÆSTHESIA OF HISTORY.

As they awaken, they behold the awful nature of the malady and its limitless ravages. This resolution is but the crystallization of the deepest public conviction into a plan of action.

QUESTIONS OF FACT, NOT OF OPINION.

Mr. Speaker, these convictions are permanent, because they are founded on questions of fact and not of opinion. They revolve about the nature of alcohol, a chemical compound whose properties have been definitely ascertained at the hands of science. Whether Members of this House are "wet" or "dry," all should acquaint themselves with the recent findings of science as to what alcohol really is, and the effect it really has upon the human organisms, and through the human organisms the political and social organisms. In other words, Mr. Speaker, the whole question hinges upon

THE TRUTH ABOUT ALCOHOL.

The Good Book tells us, "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

I assume, Mr. Speaker, that every Member in this House will be loyal to the truth when in his own reason and in his own conscience he has found it. Loyalty to the truth is really the true test of a man, whether he is in the image of his Maker and is worthy of that dignity that attaches to human life above the life of the brute living on the plane of self-preservation.

MAN EDUCATED IN ERROR.

I realize full well, Mr. Speaker, how with the deceptive properties of alcohol and the powerful financial interests connected with it the average man of to-day has been molded in an atmosphere of error as to its real nature. The educational effects of his observation as to the harmful effects of drunkenness have been partly dissipated by the constant reiteration that the harm comes from the abuse and not the temperate use, the results of which do not appear on the surface. As a matter of fact the effect of the moderate use of alcoholic beverages spread over the whole Nation has done and is doing vastly more harm than all the drunkenness and intemperance combined.

ALCOHOL A POISON TO ALL LIFE.

The substance about which this whole question revolves is a chemical compound of the group of the oxide derivatives of the hydrocarbons, its formula being C_2H_5 (OH), 2 atoms of carbon, 6 of hydrogen, and 1 of oxygen. Among the other members of this group may be mentioned carbolic acid, chloral hydrate—popularly called chloral—morphine, and strychnine. Alcohol is produced by the process of fermentation, in which process ferment germs devour glucose in solution derived from grain, grapes, and other substances, and in their life processes they throw off waste products like other living organisms. One of the waste products is the gas that causes bubbling. The other waste product is the liquid alcohol. Alcohol is then the toxin, the

LOATHESOME EXCRETION

of a living organism. It comes under the general law governing toxins, namely, the toxin of one form of life is a poison to

the form of life that produced it and a poison to every other form of life of a higher order. The ferment germs are single-cell germs—the lowest form of life known—consequently their toxin, alcohol, is a poison to all forms of life, whether plants, animals, or men—a poison to the elemental protoplasm out of which all forms of life are constructed. The first scientific finding about alcohol is that "alcohol is a protoplasmic poison." An organic substance placed in alcohol is preserved indefinitely, because no living thing—neither germs of decomposition nor the ferment germs themselves—can penetrate the alcohol.

NO FOOD VALUE.

We must therefore surrender all our preconceived ideas about the supposed food value and benefits of alcohol, even in the smallest quantities. As an illustration, one mug of mild beer—supposed to be beneficial and helpful—will in 30 minutes lower the efficiency of the average soldier 36 per cent in aiming his rifle.

A HABIT-FORMING DRUG.

Alcohol has the property of chloroform and ether of penetrating actually into the nerve fibers themselves, putting the tissues under an anesthetic which prevents pain at first, but when the anesthetic effect is over discomfort follows throughout the tissues of the whole body, particularly the nervous system, which causes a craving for relief by recourse to the very substance that produced the disturbance. This craving grows directly with the amount and regularity of the drinking.

UNDERMINES THE WILL POWER.

The poisoning attack of alcohol is specially severe in the cortex cerebrum—the top part of the brain—where resides the center of inhibition, or of will power, causing partial paralysis, which liberates lower activities otherwise held in control, causing a man to be more of a brute, but to imagine that he has been stimulated, when he is really partially paralyzed. This center of inhibition is the seat of the will power, which of necessity declines a little in strength every time partial paralysis takes place.

LITTLE LESS OF A MAN AFTER EACH DRINK.

Thus a man is little less of a man after each drink he takes. In this way continued drinking causes a progressive weakening of the will and a progressive growing of the craving, so that after a time, if persisted in, there must come a point where the will power can not control the craving and the victim is in the grip of the habit.

SLAVES IN SHACKLES.

When the drinking begins young the power of the habit becomes overwhelming, and the victim might as well have shackles. It is estimated that there are 5,000,000 heavy drinkers and drunkards in America, and these men might as well have a ball and chain on their ankles, for they are more abject slaves than those black men who were driven by slave drivers.

SLAVERY CONTINUES.

It is vain for us to think that slavery has been abolished. There are nearly twice as many slaves, largely white men, today than there were black men slaves in America at any one time.

74512—14339

PRESENT-DAY SLAVE OWNERS.

These victims are driven imperatively to procure their liquor, no matter at what cost. A few thousand brewers and distillers making up the organizations composing the great Liquor Trust, have a monopoly of the supply, and they therefore own these 5,000,000 slaves and through them they are able to collect two and one-half billions of dollars cash from the American people every year.

LIQUOR TRUST ABSORBS NEARLY TWO-THIRDS OF ALL THE MONEY IN CIRCULATION.

In this way nearly two-thirds of all the money in circulation in America in the course of a year passes into the hands of the Liquor Trust.

HEAVY LOCAL LOSSES.

Very little of the money paid for liquor remains in circulation locally, because liquor employs so few men for the capital invested and pays them such poor wages.

LIQUOR THE DEADLY ENEMY OF LABOR.

Labor unions ought to realize that liquor is their deadliest enemy. It lowers the standard of character and the standard of living of labor. It dissipates the earnings of labor, interferes with savings, and increases the dependence of labor upon the will of capital. It breeds the violence and disorder that often bring labor's cause into disrepute and give the victory to their opponents. In an industrial struggle, as in any other struggle, if both opponents are sober, there is good chance for arbitration. If one side is debauched by liquor, it will lose. The road to solve the problems between capital and labor is to make the whole country dry as the mining regions of Colorado were made dry in the strike. If the capital now invested in liquor were put to useful channels it would employ more than a million and a half additional men, wage earners, and largely solve the problem of the unemployed. This tremendous increase in the demand for labor would cause a general rise in wages and a corresponding rise in the standard of living.

LIQUOR THE DEADLY ENEMY OF CAPITAL.

Railroads, armies, manufacturing plants, and other employers of men are rapidly coming to realize the heavy toll of inefficiency and loss of productiveness on the part of men in their employ even from moderate drinking. Scientific management of modern industry in every branch is rapidly coming to demand total abstinence.

CHIEF CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.

Investigations in connection with employers' liability for accident and sickness are rapidly disclosing the responsibility of liquor for the bulk of the accidents and the sickness in mines, mills, and shops and other operations.

BILLIONS YEARLY LOST THROUGH LIQUOR.

My figures indicate a general loss of efficiency of about 21½ per cent for the American producer, on the average. This entails an economic loss of over eight billions of dollars by the Nation. As I shall point out in a few moments, liquor causes the premature death of about 700,000 American citizens every year. This entails an economic loss of about five billions.

CHIEF CAUSE OF CRIME, PAUPERISM, AND INSANITY.

I call attention of Members to the charts that show that liquor is causing the bulk of the crime, pauperism, and insan-

ity, and, leaving the support of these upon the public, causes a burden in direct taxation upon the American people of nearly two billions. Taking away from our people, as pointed out above, two and one-half billions, the sum total of the economic burden laid upon the shoulders of the Nation approximates the total sum of about sixteen billions of dollars. We call the Federal Government extravagant when it lays a burden of one billion for purposes of uplift and we stand by complacently as liquor places a burden of sixteen billions for purposes of degeneracy and destruction, and there are some so deluded as to imagine that the Government should encourage liquor because of the paltry two hundred and odd millions of revenue. Let no enlightened Member talk about the need of liquor revenues. I say to him what Mr. Gladstone said to the deputation of brewers who made the same claim:

Give me a sober people who do not waste their substance on strong drink and I will find ready means of raising the necessary revenues for their government.

LIQUOR CORRUPTS ELECTIONS.

The Liquor Trust through its vast hordes of money corrupts our elections, not only to control the results in wet and dry campaigns, but the election of officers and political parties subservient to liquor interests. In many wet and dry campaigns bankers have been put under duress and required to notify farmers, merchants, and other business men that they would call in their loans if the elections went dry.

CREATES MENACING DEGENERATE VOTE.

The growing degenerate vote directly due to liquor is now menacing not only the elections in our great cities, but in the States that have large cities, and even in the Nation itself. Liquor not only creates this degenerate vote, but it also keeps a corruption fund available to purchase that vote, and does not hesitate to spend vast sums for this purpose. In this way it stands with club in hand over politicians and political parties.

HOLDS CLUB OVER POLITICIANS AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find the menace of this great blighting influence in our political life, by which our elections can not be normal and political forces can not follow in their normal course without cross currents and counter currents. It is vain to hope for honest elections until the country is dry.

THE BLIGHT OF FREE INSTITUTIONS.

The liberties and institutions of a free people must depend for their perpetuity upon the average standard of character of the electorate. In America where we have manhood suffrage the degeneracy produced, particularly in big cities, is undermining the foundations of our institutions.

THE DOWNFALL OF REPUBLICS.

It is this same lowering of the average standard of character of the citizenship in the past that entailed the overthrow of the liberties of Greece and Rome and other Republics. It seems rather ironical for liquor men to call upon the name of liberty.

GRIPS THE THROAT OF GOVERNMENT.

Through control of political parties and politicians and from the supply of needed revenues liquor gets a strangle hold upon the Government, and for ages governments have largely looked to liquor to supply revenues and give support for continuance in power.

74512—14339

LIQUOR AND THE WORLD WAR.

It is a clear sign of the times to note the general change of attitude of the Governments of Europe toward liquor. All governments should now be in full possession of the findings of science as to the real nature of alcohol, consequently when the general war broke out in Europe the Governments, though in great need of revenues, promptly took advantage of the powers conferred under martial law to strike liquor a deadly blow.

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE DRY.

Shortly after the promulgation of martial law the Russian Government, in spite of the loss of hundreds of millions in revenue, issued a proclamation to compel prohibition of the national drink—vodka. This order has been made permanent and, broadly speaking, the Russian Empire is to remain dry forever.

PARTIAL PROHIBITION IN FRANCE.

The French Government likewise issued a proclamation of prohibition of the manufacture and sale of absinthe, and has since extended this to include other distilled liquors.

GERMANY PARTIALLY DRY.

After the proclamation of martial law the Government closed down the breweries throughout the Empire and has promulgated drastic measures for prohibition in the war zone of the East. When a child is born in Germany the Government sends a card to the mother warning against the deadly nature of alcohol. When a child enters public school in Berlin the Prussian Government sends an antialcohol card to the father and mother by the child.

GERMANS IN AMERICA OUT OF ACCORD WITH THE FATHERLAND.

It seems too bad that the Germans who have cast their lot in America should not have caught the progressive spirit of the Fatherland. Eight hundred German scientists, 116 of them professors in German universities, have made a unanimous report on the nature of beverage alcohol, recommending its complete elimination. A German staff physician of the German army has announced that "we should not discuss moderation with a man. The thing has long since been settled by science. The use of narcotic poisons is simply indecent and criminal."

OUR GOVERNMENT STILL LIQUOR RIDDEN.

It should be a source of humiliation to well-informed Americans that our Government shows no indications of change of attitude toward liquor. Our need for revenue is much less than that of the nations at war, and yet in sections 1 and 2 of the revenue bill recently passed we turned to liquor for nearly one-half the total amount, strengthening the hold of liquor upon the finances of the Government. Liquor has the same strangle hold upon the throat of our Government to-day that slavery had before 1860. Congress has not permitted the cotton planter to deposit his cotton in bond, but it has done everything for the distiller so he can place his liquor in bond and on these warrants get financial advances.

LIQUOR DEGENERATES THE CHARACTER.

The first finding of science that alcohol is a protoplasmic poison and the second finding that it is an insidious, habit-forming drug, though of great importance, are as unimportant when compared with the third finding, that alcohol degenerates

74512—14339

the character of men and tears down their spiritual nature. Like the other members of the group of oxide derivatives of hydrocarbons, alcohol is not only a general poison, but it has a chemical affinity or deadly appetite for certain particular tissues. Strychnine tears down the spinal cord. Alcohol tears down the top part of the brain in a man, attacks certain tissues in an animal, certain cells in a flower. It has been established that whatever the line of a creature's evolution alcohol will attack that line. Every type and every species is evolving in building from generation to generation along some particular line. Man is evolving in the top part of the brain, the seat of the will power, the seat of the moral senses, and of the spiritual nature, the recognition of right and wrong, the consciousness of God and of duty and of brotherly love and of self-sacrifice.

REVERSES THE LIFE PRINCIPLE OF THE UNIVERSE.

All life in the universe is founded upon the principle of evolution. Alcohol directly reverses that principle. Man has risen from the savage up through successive steps to the level of the semisavage, the semicivilized, and the highly civilized.

LIQUOR AND THE RED MAN.

Liquor promptly degenerates the red man, throws him back into savagery. It will promptly put a tribe on the war path.

LIQUOR AND THE BLACK MAN.

Liquor will actually make a brute out of a negro, causing him to commit unnatural crimes.

LIQUOR AND THE WHITE MAN.

The effect is the same on the white man, though the white man being further evolved it takes longer time to reduce him to the same level. Starting young, however, it does not take a very long time to speedily cause a man in the forefront of civilization to pass through the successive stages and become semicivilized, semisavage, savage, and, at last, below the brute.

THE GREAT TRAGEDY.

The spiritual nature of man gives dignity to his life above the life of the brute. It is this spiritual nature of man that makes him in the image of his Maker, so that the Bible referred to man as being a little lower than the angels. It is a tragedy to blight the physical life. No measure can be made of blighting the spiritual life.

THE BLIGHT OF DEGENERACY.

Nature does not tolerate reversing its evolutionary principle, and proceeds automatically to exterminate any creature, any animal, any race, any species that degenerates. Nature adopts two methods of extermination—one to shorten the life, the other to blight the offspring.

DISEASE AND UNTIMELY DEATH.

Alcohol, even in small quantities, attacks all the vital organs and the nervous system, the tissues, and the blood. A large percentage of premature deaths arising from disease are due to this cause. The attack on the blood lowers the efficiency of the white blood corpuscles to destroy the disease germs, exposing the drinker far more than the abstainer to the ravages of consumption, pneumonia, typhoid, and other germ diseases. The records of insurance companies show that in the periods from 25 to 45 the mortality of total abstainers is only a fraction of

that of the average. This means that the bulk of deaths in young manhood are due to alcohol. It means that people ought not to die in their prime any more than animals.

THE MODERATE DRINKER SHORTENS HIS DAYS BY ONE-THIRD.

The records of the insurance companies show that a man starting at the age of 20 as a total abstainer lives to the average age of 65, whereas starting at the age of 20 as a moderate drinker he dies at 51, losing over 14 years, or a cutting down of nearly one-third of his days.

THE HEAVY DRINKER SHORTENS HIS DAYS BY TWO-THIRDS.

Starting at the age of 20 as a heavy drinker a man dies at 35, a shear loss of two-thirds of the span of his whole life.

MILLIONS SLAIN.

We are dying at the rate of 1,000 deaths per 61,000 of the population. Total abstainers in our midst are dying at the rate of 560 per 61,000 of the population, though living under the same conditions. The latter figures are those applied to adult males as shown by the insurance companies' figures. Investigations show that the shortening of life of the offspring is far greater and more serious than that of the parent, as I will point out later, and since the adult males are the fathers of the young of both sexes it is on the side of conservatism to apply the proportion to the whole population, so that we can conservatively say that 440 additional deaths are caused every year per 61,000 of the population—deaths that are premature and unnecessary. This means that alcohol actually kills fully 700,000 American citizens every year.

LIQUOR'S ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE.

When these figures were first printed they were subject to some ridicule and to many attempts to disprove them. Several German scientists have employed the same methods of reasoning, and the liquor interests of the continent have a standing offer of 6,000 marks to any scientist that can disprove the figures of the great insurance companies which are the foundation of this awful conclusion.

KILLS 2,000 A DAY.

When the great *Titanic* sank in mid-ocean with her precious cargo and shocked the whole world, she carried down less than 1,600 souls. Alcohol carries down to a premature grave every day more than 2,000 American souls.

MORE DESTRUCTIVE THAN WAR, PESTILENCE, AND FAMINE.

Mr. Gladstone in the maturity of his philosophy announced that "strong drink is more destructive than the historic scourges of war, pestilence, and famine combined." The old philosopher was eminently correct. Many battles have been fought in history for which there is no authentic report of the casualty, but of those of which there are records, from the Macedonian War, 300 B. C., down to and including the Russo-Japanese War, the sum total foots up to 2,800,000 killed and wounded, which, being apportioned, would make a little more than 2,100,000 wounded and a little less than 700,000 killed. Bearing in mind the qualifying circumstances, it can be generally said, therefore, that alcohol brings to a premature gave more Americans in one year than all the wars of the world, as recorded, have killed on the field of battle in 2,300 years.

74512—14339

LIQUOR MORE DESTRUCTIVE IN AMERICA THAN UNIVERSAL WAR IN EUROPE.

When the great war in Europe is over it will be found that the sum total killed on the field of battle for all nations will average less than 1,500 a day. Alcohol averages 2,000 Americans a day. Europe is really in the eyes of nature better off to-day in the midst of her great tragedy than she has been for centuries, because Europe is almost dry. The convention of life insurance presidents recently announced that Russia is saving fully 50,000 lives of her adult males per year from her recent prohibition order, which in a brief period of time will far more than make up for the soldiers killed in battle. No great nation was ever overthrown in war until after its vitality had been undermined by degeneracy arising from alcoholic dissipation.

THE SOUL TRAGEDY.

When a soldier falls on the field of battle we all realize the tragedy, but in reality it is only his physical life that has been snuffed out. The bullet that pierced the brave soldier's heart never touched his character. When his soul rose to appear before its maker it had no wound. But when the victim is stretched out in premature death from alcohol not only are his heart and other organs and tissues of his body wounded but the ghastly wound is the rent torn in his soul.

ALCOHOL RESORTS TO DUM DUMS.

Civilized nations forbid in warfare the use of flat-nosed bullets that spatter in the flesh and bone. Alcohol uses dum dums that not only spatter in the flesh and bone but crash into the soul.

BETTER FOR AMERICA TO FACE THE COMBINED WORLD IN WAR.

I realize full well how cruel war is, having had friends of mine among Spanish officers, men who had been kind to me in prison, who had treated me like a brother, mortally wounded, dying in agony. On board the Spanish wrecks shortly after the Battle of Santiago I saw the dead men about the decks where they had fallen at their posts of duty. I realized they were brave men and good men, and my soul cried out at the cruelty of their being killed at our hands. I realized not only the cruelty but also the calamity of war, particularly when it overtakes a nation unprepared as our Nation is; but if I had to choose one or the other of these two destructive agents, alcohol or war, I would rather see America, sober, stand alone and face the combined world; I would rather see my country, as defenseless as I know she is, face all the great armies of the world rather than to see this great internal destroyer continue unchecked his deadly ravages throughout our land.

BLIGHT UPON THE OFFSPRING.

Alcohol makes a deadly attack upon the organ of reproduction in both male and female, and upon the nervous system of the little life before birth in the embryonic period. One-half of 1 per cent of alcohol in solution, such as a future mother might easily have in her circulation in attending a banquet or fashionable dinner, drinking only wine or beer, will, oft repeated, kill the little life and endanger the life and health of the mother.

MULTIPLIES DANGERS AND SUFFERINGS OF MATERNITY.

If both parents are moderate drinkers, drinking but one glass of wine or beer per day at one meal, the effect will more than quadruple the chances of miscarriage of the mother, increasing

over 400 per cent the dangers and sufferings in maternity, and will nearly double the parcentage of their children that will die the first year in infancy. The children of drinking parents on the whole die off four to five fold more rapidly than the children of abstaining parents.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

This means that scores and scores of thousands of little children die every year from cruel wounds inflicted upon their little lives before they were born at the hands of their parents who did not know.

VISITATION OF SINS OF FATHERS UPON THE CHILDREN.

If both parents are alcoholic one child in five of those that do survive will become insane before it is grown. One child in seven will be born deformed. One child in three will become epileptic, hysterical, or feeble-minded. Only one child in six will be normal; five out of six will be blighted.

NATURE'S HIGHEST BLESSING.

On the other hand, if both parents are total abstainers, there will be no more dangers and suffering in maternity than in the case of other species; and no matter how hard the lot in life of the parents may be, nine out of ten of their children will be absolutely normal. These children normally born will be easy to bring up, and, kept safe from degeneracy in their youth, will tend to rise one degree higher and nobler in character than their parents, following the line of the species evolution. If a family or a nation is sober, nature in its normal course will cause them to rise to a higher civilization. If a family or nation, on the other hand, is debauched by liquor, it must decline and ultimately perish.

THE RISE AND FALL OF NATIONS AND EMPIRES.

Rome during long centuries was frugal and abstemious, practicing absolute prohibition within its walls, and during this period we see the wonderful rise of the Roman Empire. When the Romans gathered into their great city and the youth gave themselves over to dissipation, we see the decline and finally the fall of that great empire. Similarly the other nations and empires of the past have risen only to fall.

THE MILLSTONE OF DEGENERACY.

We are all familiar with thoroughbred races of horses, dogs, and so forth, but who ever heard of a thoroughbred race of men? We know that great aggregates of plants and animals continue to rise, but a great nation is only born to die. Heretofore a nation has only been able to rise to a certain level, when, gathering in great cities, liquor has overtaken the youth and a great millstone has settled about its neck. Back it sank, never to rise again. We stand in the presence of this most startling discovery of science—that alcohol has absolutely disrupted the orderly evolution of the great human species.

THE VERDICT.

Science has thus demonstrated that alcohol is a protoplasmic poison, poisoning all living things; that alcohol is a habit-forming drug that shackles millions of our citizens and maintains slavery in our midst; that it lowers in a fearful way the standard of efficiency of the Nation, reducing enormously the national wealth, entailing startling burdens of taxation, encumbering the public with the care of crime, pauperism, and insanity; that it corrupts politics and public servants, corrupts the Government,

74512—14339

corrupts the public morals, lowers terrifically the average standard of character of the citizenship, and undermines the liberties and institutions of the Nation; that it undermines and blights the home and the family, checks education, attacks the young when they are entitled to protection, undermines the public health, slaughtering, killing, and wounding our citizens many fold times more than war, pestilence, and famine combined; that it blights the progeny of the Nation, flooding the land with a horde of degenerates; that it strikes deadly blows at the life of the Nation itself and at the very life of the race, reversing the great evolutionary principles of nature and the purposes of the Almighty.

There can be but one verdict, and that is this great destroyer must be destroyed. The time is ripe for fulfillment. The present generation, the generation to which we belong, must cut this millstone of degeneracy from the neck of humanity.

THE REMEDY.

What is the remedy for this great organic disease that is Nation-wide and world-wide in its blight? Evidently the treatment must itself be organic and must itself be Nation-wide and world-wide.

ORGANIC TREATMENT.

We can look to nature and find out in what organic treatment consists, for instance, in diseases of the body physical. In the case of a cure for such a disease the cure consists not in the curing of the old diseased tissues, but in the growth of young tissue, and the very essence of the cure is to insure that the disease or contagion shall not extend to the young tissue, giving nature an opportunity to grow the cure.

NOT A QUESTION OF OLD DRINKERS.

The cure of the old drinkers is not nature's cure for such an organic disease. It is not possible by enactment of a law to make old drinkers stop drinking, to change the deep-seated habits of a lifetime. The amendment proposed in this resolution does not undertake to coerce old drinkers or to regulate the use of liquor by the individual.

BUT A QUESTION OF THE YOUNG.

The cure for this disease lies in the stopping of the debauching of the young. Our generation must establish such conditions that hereafter the young will grow up sober. This proposed amendment is scientifically drawn to attain this end.

ALL GOOD MEN MUST AGREE.

Upon this all must agree. A man may drink himself, but if he is a good man he would love to see such conditions established that the young hereafter would grow up sober.

DEBAUCHING THE YOUTH.

I call the attention of Members to the chart showing that 68 per cent of all the drunkards had their habits contracted before they were 21, 30 per cent before they were 16, and 7 per cent before they were 12. Less than 2 per cent of men begin to drink after they are grown and settled down. Some vast agent in our midst is systematically teaching the boys to drink and debauching the youth. Who is it that carries on this sinful business? Certainly it is not the drinkers. A man may drink but unless he is a hopeless degenerate he would not teach boys to drink. I have known many drinkers, but I have never

yet known one who made a habit of teaching boys to drink. This sinister agent is the Liquor Trust of America.

LIQUOR TRUST MAINTAINS ITS VAST BUSINESS BY TEACHING THE YOUNG TO DRINK.

Tens of thousands of paid agents all over the land are carrying out this devilish work. The most deadly work thus far has been in the cities where it is hard for parents to keep track of their boys, but it extends to towns and is now being systematically extended to country settlements. The usual method in cities is to operate where boys come together, sometimes having the boys rendevous in saloons but more frequently in pool rooms and other places of amusement, sometimes on vacant lots. The bootlegger or licensed agent of the Liquor Trust arranges to have the boys drink before breaking up to be sociable or as a sign of manliness. To better influence the young boy who is just beginning a special drink is prepared called "Cincinnati," which is sweetened to appeal to the boy's taste. In some cases where it is difficult to reach the boys through agents, as for instance in the State of Oklahoma, the Liquor Trust has written to them giving them numbers so that without the knowledge of their parents, by mail or express, they can ship them liquor free.

WHAT IS THE MOTIVE?

In order to effectively and scientifically solve this question we must discover and must remove the motive. What is the motive of the liquor trust in this vast debauching of the youth? Some have assumed that the motive is to harm the boys, blighting the homes, and degenerating society in general. On this assumption many have set about heaping abuse upon the agents of the great liquor trust. For my part I realize this is not the motive, that most of these agents are in the business to make a living, and that the business has come down in natural courses from the past, an occupation for which the whole of society stands responsible. Recognizing this, I have abused none; I have no bitterness; I have no desire to harm any man's business.

DISTILLER M'COLLOUGH'S PROPOSITION.

Mr. John McCollough, president of the Green River Distilling Co., of Owensboro, Ky., one of the big liquor men of the country, has written to the big men in the business, suggesting that the wise thing to do would be to stop fighting and ask for terms on the basis of being allowed 10 years in which to adjust their business and for the Government to set aside 10 per cent of the revenue collected from the business every year, and at the end of the 10 years for this fund to be used to compensate those engaged in the business when the business is closed. I have no authority to speak for others, but I do not hesitate to say that if such a course were pursued by the liquor trust it would certainly have my sympathetic consideration for statutory adjustment. The South could have received hundreds of millions of dollars for its slaves without war, but when it chose war it could not come back after war and hope to receive a dollar in compensation. The conditions are analogous for the liquor traffic, though liquor has no real legal vested rights, as held by slavery. If liquor continues its barbaric warfare to the bitter end, it need not come asking for compensation.

The real motive in teaching the boys to drink is to develop future customers. With a reasonably small outlay the Liquor

Trust can develop this appetite in the young and when the young grow up with an appetite then as men they buy the liquor, over the supply of which the Liquor Trust has a monopoly. The large profits in the sale of their goods to customers thus developed is the real motive of the great Liquor Trust in systematically debauching the youth of the Nation.

SCIENTIFIC TREATMENT.

The real scientific way to cure this evil therefore is to remove the motive—the profits in the sale of the goods. Clearly, this can not be done by undertaking to coerce those who drink, but it can be done by prohibiting the sale and everything that relates to the sale, particularly to the manufacture for sale. This can be done the more readily as barter and sale for profit have been subject to public control since the earliest days.

When the motive is removed and the liquor interests can no longer derive profits from the sale, then the great Liquor Trust of necessity will disintegrate. The debauching of the young will thus end and the young generation will grow up sober.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY—SANCTITY OF THE HOME.

In this way no effort is made to coerce any citizen. Some old drinkers desiring to stop will take advantage of the changed environment and stop, and other old drinkers desiring to do so will continue drinking until they die, subject to local or State regulation or control; but when they die no new drinkers will take their place and the next generation will be sober. This method thus takes no chance of invading the sanctity of the home or the liberties of the individual. Some men may feel that they have an inherent right to drink liquor, but no man will feel that he has a right to sell liquor. The proposed amendment does not touch the question of the use of liquor, and partakes in no manner of the nature of a sumptuary measure.

NO MAN HAS A RIGHT TO SELL LIQUOR.

Twelve decisions of the United States Supreme Court have declared that no citizen has an inherent right to sell liquor. What this amendment does is to declare that the Liquor Trust shall not for petty lucre continue to debauch the young; that neither Federal Government, nor State, nor any citizens shall fatten upon the weaknesses and miseries of the people.

SHALL PROHIBITION BE LOCAL OR NATIONAL.

In carrying out the prohibition of the sale, manufacture for sale, and all that relates to sale, the next question that arises is whether the scope of the prohibition should be limited to small units, like the town and the county, or should extend to the large units making it State wide and nation wide. It is good to have a town dry rather than wet. It is better to have a county dry rather than wet; but if prohibition is by the small unit, then wet towns and wet counties will be found near by, and the virus there generated will pass over continuously and reinfect the dry town and the dry county. It is a good thing to cut out one root of a cancer, it is a better thing to cut out another root, but as long as a single root remains it will generate the virus and inject it into the circulation and reinfect the whole system. As long as there is one State in the Union that is wet it will be the base of operations and source of supply for the national Liquor Trust, from which, through interstate commerce, to infect all the other States. Poison generated in any part of the body, projected into the circulation, will reach

all parts of the body, and no part can protect itself. The States can not protect themselves against interstate commerce, nor can Congress delegate to the States this power. The liquor traffic is the most interstate of all business. Their organization is a national organization. It is dealt with by the National Government.

LIQUOR AN INTERSTATE NATIONAL OUTLAW.

Under our present system limiting prohibition to small units the great Liquor Trust has trampled upon the rights of States, of counties, and of towns, and has taken pride in proclaiming that "prohibition does not prohibit."

This pose of the liquor outlaw that he is above the operations of local law is a complete and conclusive demonstration of the need of a national law. There can be no cure of a cancer until all the roots have been cut out, until no centers of contagion are left to reinfect. Local option in various forms, and even State-wide prohibition, though valuable and useful, have not proved adequate. Our whole experience shows that PROHIBITION MUST BE NATIONAL.

SHALL PROHIBITION BE STATUTORY OR CONSTITUTIONAL?

If Congress, in the exercise of the taxing power, should undertake to establish prohibition by statute, the great Liquor Trust would not permanently disintegrate, because what any one Congress can do another Congress can undo. Wet and dry elections would be continually following each other all the time, and the country would be wet part of the time and dry part of the time, and the youth would not have time to grow up sober—the remedy would only be superficial.

THE FINAL CONCLUSION.

To cure this organic disease we must have recourse to the organic law. The people themselves must act upon this question. A generation must be prevailed upon to place prohibition in their own constitutional law, and such a generation could be counted upon to keep it in the Constitution during its lifetime. The Liquor Trust of necessity would disintegrate. The youth would grow up sober. The final, scientific conclusion is that we must have constitutional prohibition, prohibiting only the sale, the manufacture for sale, and everything that pertains to the sale, and invoke the power of both Federal and State Governments for enforcement. The resolution is drawn to fill these requirements.

THE POWER OF THE TRUTH.

If you ask me how to cause the people of a generation to take the question into their own hands and act, I answer without hesitation, reach them with the truth about alcohol. Thorough education in this appalling truth, if it comes not too late in life, will cause the individual to adopt total abstinence and the people to destroy the traffic root and branch. The liquor interests realize this fact full well. They spend millions every year in their efforts to control the liquor policies of the press and keep the truth about alcohol from the people. They try to destroy any man who dares to undertake this work. After my first investigations as to the truth about alcohol I introduced the results of my labors and put them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in a speech called the Great Destroyer and proceeded to send this speech systematically to the youth of America. I estimate that I have sent out about 2,500,000 copies and have

sent out more than a million and a half individual letters to the youth on this subject. It is this work that has brought down the arm of the great liquor interests in their efforts to destroy me politically.

In the recent senatorial primary in Alabama it was not simply my distinguished and powerful opponent, but the great liquor interests of the Nation that I had to fight. Their national political agent, Charles Lewis, came to Alabama and organized the fight. They opened up three different headquarters, independent of my opponent's regular organization, and must have had a pipe line connecting these with their national treasury from the magnitude of the campaign they conducted, not only through the columns of the press and an army of paid workers, but through great political agents, such as the governor of the State and his administration. I do not say that the Liquor Trust directly secured the cooperation of the President, but I do say that the President and his administration brought their powerful influence against me. Of course I was defeated and my fate was held up as a warning to other men in public life. Perhaps I might add what I said in a card to the papers of Alabama the day after the primary, to notify the liquor interests of America that I had simply finished my training, and that I had only begun to fight, and that I would meet them on a hundred battle fields and they would find me in the thick of the fight when the thirty-sixth State ratifies the resolution, which may perhaps go down in history under the name of the Hobson resolution, that will put prohibition into the Constitution of the United States forever. I wish to serve notice now that the Liquor Trust need not imagine that it will always be able to choose its own battle ground nor to concentrate its whole national strength against one man or even against one State. Forces of righteousness are now organizing into a compact army. If the Sixty-third and the Sixty-fourth Congresses deny the people their plain and inherent right to pass on this great question, the Liquor Trust will find in 1916 a battle line in front of them extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and from ocean to ocean. A battle line organized, compact, and inspired by the conscience and patriotism of the whole people, as in the campaign of 1860.

LIQUOR'S FIGHT.

The campaign in Alabama is typical of the general methods employed in liquor's fight. Finding themselves indefensible on the merits of liquor they use their great resources to put forward other issues. In a high-protection State they will put forth the tariff and capitalize its strength. In the Southern States they will invoke the race question, declaring it a question of supporting a Democratic administration. If the struggle is for county local option, they will declare that township local option is the thing. If it is a question of State-wide prohibition, they will become staunch advocates of county local option. Now that it is a question of national prohibition they are declaring in favor of the State unit.

REFUGE BEHIND MODERATE DRINKING.

They no longer debate the question of the nature of alcohol, but take the ground that it is only the abuse that is harmful. In the case of distilled liquors they claim that it is adulteration that does the harm. Now, seeing the handwriting on the wall,

some of their forces are trying to save what wreckage they can and declare that distilled liquors do the harm, that wines and beers, fermented and malted liquors should be supported. Of course, as pointed out above, alcohol in any form or in any quantity is a poison of a deadly nature. Here on the floor of the House, however, very little effort is made to defend drinking, and we will see the fight adroitly maneuvered to change the battle front by an appeal to some other method to obtain the same object. Many of the real friends of temperance are liable to be deceived by such tactics. A proposition is advanced to prohibit the transportation of alcohol in interstate commerce by an amendment to the Constitution, though there has been no demand from the country at large for any such change; there have been no petitions, no resolutions, no temperance, prohibition, or moral forces having ever recommended for the self-evident reason that Congress to-day has power by a majority vote to prohibit the interstate transportation of intoxicating liquors.

QUESTION OF STATE RIGHTS.

The question of State rights is advanced largely for the purpose of influencing Members from the South. As a matter of fact, liquor tramples upon the rights of the States. The wet States of the Union can and do invade the rights of the dry States. They forget that the fundamental right of the States and the people is to protect the general welfare by not only upholding the organic law that has come down from the past, but by changing that organic law to meet whatever conditions arise in the interest of the public welfare.

They talk of minorities dictating to majorities. As a matter of fact, they can not find any practical conditions where a majority of the people of the United States to-day would be found against national prohibition. A substantial majority of our people to-day are living under prohibition law. They do not seem willing to let three-fourths of the States decide upon the organic question, but would rather have one-fourth of the States insist upon allowing the country to remain wet.

They did not propose a popular vote of referendum to change the Constitution for the direct election of United States Senators or the imposition of the income tax. Baseless indeed would be the proposition of changing our organic law other than by having three-fourths of the States given that power by popular vote or any other method. They talk of confiscation of their property without realizing that the court decisions are all in line in denying that any vested right goes with the license to manufacture or sell liquor. They never think of the property rights of families of drinkers or drunkards. They never think of the financial rights of the society, upon whom they throw their finished products, the insane, the pauper, and the feeble-minded. They talk of personal liberty, when they themselves own 5,000,000 slaves, when liquor undermined the liberties of Greece and Rome, and is now through its degenerate vote threatening the liberties of America.

They call out in the name of law and pretend to be against creating bootleggers and blind tigers, and as a matter of fact they are the fathers of these whelps, and they themselves are the very lawbreakers against whom they cry. They are, indeed, the modern pirate with skull and crossbones, defying organized society, defying the laws of God and of man.

74512—14339

They quote the Scriptures as readily as the devil himself. They dethrone the preachers with the epithets of fanatics and set themselves up as authorities on spiritual matters.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC INDEFENSIBLE.

Liquor really has no case in the light of discoveries of science giving us the truth about alcohol.

The further continuance of the liquor traffic is absolutely indefensible. The forces of society are now gathering throughout the whole world. The battle line is drawn. Some might wish that the battle be deferred for their own reasons, but the war is now on, the first battle is now in progress. I want all members to bear in mind when they cast their vote what this great war means. When our country is sober and degeneracy no longer lowers the standard of character of humanity it will then be possible to solve the problems of the Nation which are now so acute on account of degeneracy, social, economic, and moral problems. It will permit the rapid advance of humanity to the point where it will be possible to have universal peace, hastening the day when liberty and free institutions will be universal and when man will cooperate in a great brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

Some of my colleagues are not to return to the Sixty-fourth Congress, like myself; others are to remain here. To both alike I make my appeal. I know there is danger in confronting this great and powerful enemy, but in time of war the good soldier does not stop because of danger. I do not ask you to go where I would not go myself. It may be that I am politically dead, my political life destroyed by the liquor interest, but I do not hesitate to say that I am not afraid of political death. I would rather hold my hand up and fight like a man though I had to die a hundred political deaths. I would rather to-day do a man's part in this struggle to cut the millstone of degeneracy from the neck of humanity—I would rather do that than to be United States Senator from Alabama, and if I know my own mind I would rather do that than be President of the United States. I call on you, my colleagues, to hold your heads up in the face of this enemy and be men. In the name of your manhood, in the name of your patriotism, in the name of all that is held dear by good men, in the name of your fireside, in the name of our institutions, in the name of our country, and in the name of humanity and of humanity's God, I call on you to join hands with me and each one to do his full duty.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired. All time has expired.

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment.

* * * * * * *

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] is recognized.

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, after the reading of the first section I desire to offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. Has not the first section already been read?

Mr. HOBSON. No. Let the Clerk read the first section.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 5:

"ARTICLE —.

"SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for

beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof are forever prohibited."

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I have already sent to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HOBSON: In section 1 strike out the words "and exportation for sale," in line 7; and in line 9, after the word "thereof," insert the words "and exportation for sale thereof," so that the section will read as follows:

"SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof and exportation for sale thereof are forever prohibited."

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, a slight mistake was made there. That last clause was "and exportation thereof." The words "for sale" should not have been repeated.

The SPEAKER. What is the modification?

Mr. HOBSON. The words "for sale" are there by mistake in the last amendment. It should read "exportation thereof." The words "for sale" are in there by error.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the modification of the amendment will be made.

There was no objection.

* * * * * * *

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to provide for the manufacture, sale, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for sacramental, medicinal, mechanical, pharmaceutical, or scientific purposes, or for use in the arts, and shall have power to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Hobson: In section 2 strike out the section and in lieu thereof substitute the following:

"SEC. 2. The Congress or the States shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation."

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to discuss the section. It is thoroughly understood by Members, but I should refer to the evolution of this section.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] has referred to the fact that I have introduced a number of resolutions in the last two years, and he asked which one I preferred. Well, I will say to the gentleman that if he has followed the evolution of these resolutions——

Mr. MANN. I have.

Mr. HOBSON (continuing). He will find that the last resolution (H. Res. 277) is very close to the original, the first one introduced.

Mr. MANN. Oh, it is very different; I have them both here.

Mr. HOBSON. Very close.

Mr. MANN. Very different.

Mr. HOBSON. I will say to the gentleman that the resolution has gone the rounds of most of the temperance and prohibition forces and organizations, and that its final wording was practically determined in the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, as the result of a long conference between Senators CHILTON, BORAH, SHEPPARD, and SHIELDS, with Mr. Dinwiddie and myself present. I will add that the main

object was to provide absolutely against any chance either of a conflict of authority or of an encroachment by the Federal Government upon the rights of the States. The changes since then have been unimportant.

* * * * * * *

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] to strike out and insert.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the Hobson resolution——

Mr. HOBSON. The preamble still remains, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MANN. You can dispose of that after the resolution has been agreed to.

Mr. HOBSON. I ask unanimous consent that the preamble be stricken out.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to strike out the preamble. Is there objection?

Mr. HOBSON. Before that is done, I want to take this occasion to say that under the spirit of the Constitution and the rules of this House—I mention this now that we are approaching the final vote—any Member who is financially interested in the outcome of the vote shall not vote.

Mr. STAFFORD. That disqualifies you, then.

Mr. MANN. I will ask the gentleman——

The SPEAKER. That proposition is not before the House.

Mr. HOBSON. I ask unanimous consent to strike out the preamble.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to strike out the preamble. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOBSON. Now, Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOBSON. Whether Members of this body who are financially interested, by owning bonds or stocks in breweries, distilleries, or other establishments of manufacture, or who own saloons or an interest in saloons, or property rented for saloons, or other properties which make them financially interested in this measure, can conscientiously vote on this measure, or whether they can do so under the rules of this House and under the spirit of the Constitution, which provides not only for the judiciary but for the legislative branch of the Government?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, what is before the House, except the gentleman from Alabama?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is making a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. MANN. I thought he was making a speech. He is dealing in buncombe, at least.

The SPEAKER. The rule about that is Rule VIII:

> Every Member shall be present within the Hall of the House during its sittings unless excused or necessarily prevented; and shall vote upon each question put, unless he has a direct, personal, or pecuniary interest in the event of such question.

It was decided after a bitter wrangle in the House in the case of John Quincy Adams, who came back to the House after he had been President, that you could not make a Member vote unless he wanted to. It has practically been decided by Speaker

Blaine in a most elaborate opinion ever rendered on the subject that each Member must decide the thing for himself, whether he is sufficiently interested pecuniarily to prevent his voting. It must affect him directly and personally and not as a member of a class. If it were not so long, the Chair would read it in full. It arose in this way. They had a bill about national banks before the House and Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, who was the president of a national bank, voted. Somebody raised the point of order that his vote ought to be stricken from the RECORD. Speaker Blaine made this kind of a ruling of which I will give the substance; that where it affected an individual he could not vote, but that where it affected a class he could vote. He cited two different classes, one of which was national banks—a law that affected every national bank in the country, and a great number of Members of the House were more or less interested in national banks. Another class he cited was the old soldiers, of whom there were many in the House, and bills were constantly coming up at that time providing for pensions and bounties. He said that nobody would claim that these old soldiers should not be permitted to vote on that kind of a bill. He wound up finally with the suggestion that knowing the fine constitution of the mind of the gentleman from Massachusetts and his high sense of honor, and how jealous he was of his reputation, he would suggest to him whether he would withdraw his vote or not, and he withdrew the vote.

Now, if there was a bill here affecting one institution, if you call it that, the Chair would be inclined to rule that a Member interested in it pecuniarily could not vote, but where it affects a whole class he can vote.

Mr. MANN. Like the cotton-warehouse bill that the gentleman from Alabama voted for. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. Here is a ruling of Speaker Randall on the same subject in section 5950, volume 5, of Hinds' Precedents:

On March 2, 1877, the yeas and nays were being taken on a motion to suspend the rules in order to take up the Senate bill (No. 14) to extend the time for the construction and completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

During the call of the roll Mr. William P. Frye, of Maine, said that he did not feel at liberty to vote on the bill until the Chair had ruled upon his right to do so, since he was a stockholder in the road.

The Speaker said:

"Rule 29 reads: 'No Member shall vote on any question in the event of which he is immediately or particularly interested.'

"Having read this rule, it is for the gentleman himself to determine whether he shall vote, not for the Chair."

Mr. Frye declined to vote.

The question is on the passage of the Hobson resolution submitting a constitutional amendment.

Mr. HOBSON, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mr. MANN demanded the yeas and nays.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the request has not been put as to striking out the preamble.

Mr. MANN. And I would like to make the suggestion, Mr. Speaker, that the bill has not been engrossed and read a third time.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks he submitted the request to strike out the preamble.

Mr. MANN. That was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. What was the suggestion of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. MANN. It has not been ordered to be engrossed and read a third time.

The SPEAKER. That is true.

The resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on ordering the yeas and nays.

The question was taken, and the yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken, and there were—yeas 197, nays 189, answered "present" 1, not voting 41, as follows:

YEAS—197.

Abercrombie	Flood, Va.	Kinkaid, Nebr.	Shreve
Adamson	Floyd, Ark.	Kirkpatrick	Sims
Aiken	Fordney	Kitchin	Sinnott
Alexander	Foster	Kreider	Sisson
Anderson	Fowler	Lafferty	Slemp
Anthony	Francis	La Follette	Sloan
Austin	French	Langham	Smith, Idaho
Avis	Garrett, Tex.	Langley	Smith, Md.
Baker	Glass	Lever	Smith, J. M. C.
Barkley	Good	Lewis, Md.	Smith, Saml. W.
Barton	Goodwin, Ark.	Lewis, Pa.	Smith, Tex.
Bell, Cal.	Green, Iowa	Lindbergh	Sparkman
Bell, Ga.	Griest	Lindquist	Stedman
Borchers	Gudger	Lloyd	Steenerson
Borland	Hamilton, Mich.	McKellar	Stephens, Cal.
Brodbeck	Hamilton, N. Y.	McKenzie	Stephens, Miss.
Bryan	Hamlin	McLaughlin	Stephens, Tex.
Burke, S. Dak.	Harrison	MacDonald	Stout
Burnett	Haugen	Mapes	Sutherland
Butler	Hawley	Mondell	Switzer
Byrnes, S. C.	Hay	Moon	Taggart
Byrns, Tenn.	Hayden	Morgan, Okla.	Tavenner
Campbell	Helgesen	Moss, W. Va.	Taylor, Ala.
Candler, Miss.	Helm	Murray	Taylor, Ark.
Caraway	Helvering	Neely, W. Va.	Taylor, Colo.
Carr	Hensley	Nelson	Temple
Carter	Hinds	Norton	Thomas
Clark, Fla.	Hinebaugh	O'Hair	Thompson, Okla.
Collier	Hobson	Oldfield	Thomson, Ill.
Connelly, Kans.	Holland	Padgett	Towner
Copley	Houston	Page, N. C.	Tribble
Cramton	Howard	Park	Volstead
Crisp	Hoxworth	Patton, Pa.	Walker
Decker	Hughes, Ga.	Peters	Wallin
Deitrick	Hullings	Plumley	Walters
Dershem	Hull	Post	Watkins
Dickinson	Humphrey, Wash.	Powers	Watson
Difenderfer	Humphreys, Miss.	Prouty	Weaver
Dillon	Jacoway	Quin	Webb
Doolittle	Johnson, Ky.	Ragsdale	Whaley
Dunn	Johnson, S. C.	Rainey	White
Evans	Johnson, Wash.	Raker	Willis
Faison	Jones	Rubey	Wingo
Falconer	Keating	Rucker	Woodruff
Farr	Keister	Rupley	Woods
Fergusson	Kelley, Mich.	Russell	Young, N. Dak.
Ferris	Kelly, Pa.	Saunders	Young, Tex.
Fess	Kennedy, Iowa	Seldomridge	
Fields	Kiess, Pa.	Sells	
Finley	Kindel	Shackleford	

NAYS—189.

Adair	Bowdle	Burke, Wis.	Coady
Allen	Britten	Callaway	Conry
Aswell	Brockson	Cantor	Cooper
Bailey	Broussard	Cantrill	Cox
Barchfeld	Brown, N. Y.	Carew	Crosser
Barnhart	Browne, Wis.	Carlin	Cullop
Bartholdt	Browning	Cary	Curry
Bartlett	Bruckner	Casey	Dale
Bathrick	Buchanan, Ill.	Chandler, N. Y.	Danforth
Beakes	Buchanan, Tex.	Church	Davis
Blackmon	Bulkley	Clancy	Dent
Booher	Burgess	Cline	Dies

Dixon	Hammond	Manahan	Rouse
Donohoe	Hardy	Mann	Sabath
Donovan	Hart	Miller	Scott
Dooling	Hayes	Mitchell	Scully
Doremus	Heflin	Montague	Sherley
Driscoll	Henry	Moore	Sherwood
Drukker	Hill	Morgan, La.	Slayden
Dupré	Howell	Morin	Smith, Minn.
Eagan	Igoe	Morrison	Smith, N. Y.
Eagle	Johnson, Utah	Moss, Ind.	Stafford
Edmonds	Kahn	Mott	Stanley
Esch	Kennedy, Conn.	Mulkey	Stephens, Nebr.
Estopinal	Kennedy, R. I.	O'Brien	Stevens, Minn.
Fitzgerald	Kent	Oglesby	Stevens, N. H.
FitzHenry	Kettner	O'Leary	Stone
Frear	Key, Ohio	O'Shaunessy	Stringer
Gallagher	Kinkead, N. J.	Paige, Mass.	Sumners
Gallivan	Knowland, J. R.	Palmer	Talbott, Md.
Gard	Korbly	Parker, N. J.	Talcott, N. Y.
Gardner	Lazaro	Parker, N. Y.	Thacher
Garner	Lee, Ga.	Patten, N. Y.	Treadway
George	Lee, Pa.	Peterson	Tuttle
Gerry	Lenroot	Phelan	Underhill
Gill	Lesher	Platt	Underwood
Gillett	Levy	Porter	Vaughan
Gilmore	Lieb	Pou	Vinson
Goeke	Linthicum	Price	Vollmer
Goldfogle	Lobeck	Rauch	Walsh
Gordon	Loft	Rayburn	Whitacre
Goulden	Lonergan	Reed	Williams
Graham, Ill.	McAndrews	Reilly, Conn.	Wilson, N. Y.
Gray	McGillicuddy	Reilly, Wis.	Winslow
Greene, Mass.	Madden	Riordan	Witherspoon
Greene, Vt.	Maguire, Nebr.	Roberts, Mass.	
Griffin	Mahan	Roberts, Nev.	
Hamill	Maher	Rogers	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1.

Small

NOT VOTING—41.

Ainey	Davenport	Guernsey	Neeley, Kans.
Ansberry	Doughton	Harris	Nolan, J. I.
Ashbrook	Edwards	Hughes, W. Va.	Rothermel
Baltz	Elder	Konop	Taylor, N. Y.
Beall, Tex.	Fairchild	L'Engle	Ten Eyck
Brown, W. Va.	Garrett, Tenn.	Logue	Townsend
Brumbaugh	Gittins	McClellan	Vare
Burke, Pa.	Godwin, N. C.	McGuire, Okla.	Wilson, Fla.
Calder	Gorman	Martin	
Claypool	Graham, Pa.	Metz	
Connolly, Iowa	Gregg	Murdock	

So, two-thirds not having voted in favor thereof, the resolution was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. DAVENPORT and Mr. HARRIS (for) with Mr. KONOP (against).

Mr. NEELEY of Kansas and Mr. MARTIN (for) and Mr. GREGG (against).

Mr. AINEY and Mr. GUERNSEY (for) with Mr. FAIRCHILD (against).

Mr. L'ENGLE and Mr. DOUGHTON (for) with Mr. SMALL (against).

Mr. MCGUIRE of Oklahoma and Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee (for) with Mr. BURKE of Pennsylvania (against).

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, I voted "nay." I am paired with my colleague, Mr. DOUGHTON, who has just been compelled to leave the city, and I wish to withdraw my vote and answer "present."

The name of Mr. SMALL was called and he answered "Present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

74512—14339

LANE MEDICAL LIBRARY

To avoid fine, this book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below.